traditional religious views. The presumption that the universe wa> directed by a set of CICTIKII and immuluble laws of nature could lead to a deterministic worldview in which God's role wa>* marginalized. What was ultimately at slake. \'«mnij argues, were not philosophical matters as sueh. but the authority of the Bible. How could the supermalural events of the Scripture he bnuight in accordance with new scientific developments? From Newton's natural philosophy a worldview could be derived in which the world depended directly on (iod's benevolence. Vermij argues that this worldview was instnimental in achieving u bntad convrnsus that arose in the cighteenth-century Dutch Republic: the mirucles and mysteries of the Bible remained outside the scope of scientific inteqirelations and. on the other hand, supermalural events were no longer considered credible in diiily life.

Henri Krop cstahlishc% (chapter 9) that in lhe eour5C of <hc eighteenth century a 'Newtonian' philosophical system was taught at the Dutch universities, which included not only natural philosophy, but also a logic and a mclaphysics. The nsc of such a comprehensive academic Newtonianism was unique to the Nelhcrlands. and was distinct from the populter*branch' of Newtoniumsm. which in particuliir found expression in physico-theological witings.

Krop focuses mainly on the late cightcenth-century withings of the then inlluculiul natural philosopher Jean Henri van Swinden, prot/^1()r al Francke Qd AmMerdam. Van Swinden employed in his metaphysics a Cartesian dualism of the following the immatcriul world-The la"cr should be a compared to the com

of the Royal Society of London42. special issue on Newton's Principia and its legacy, edited by D G- King-tlclc and A.R. Hall < I9K«>. pp. 13-34. esp). 14-15.

- 24. liluygens <0 lluddc. 24 April 1688: Aengaende het gemelte effect van het dracijen der aerde sal V Fdt. niisMehien geMien hebben't geen onlanghs daenan geschreven i* door den Professor Newton in sijn boeck genaeml Philosophise Naturalis principia Mathemalica. sldlende verscheyde hypolh- eses die iek niet en kan approberen: Nothing is known about Huskies recepiion of Newton, since most sources concerning hts life and work are lost. Eor example, we do not know if he owned a copy of rhe Pnncipia. although one is tempted lo think he did. On lludde, see: R. Vermij. Bijdrage tot tie bio-bibliograGe van Johannes lludde. Gewina. Tijdschrift voor de ^cschied-enis der geneeskunde, naluurv dense happen, wiskunde en techiek 18 (1995 >,PP-25-35-
- 25. Christjaan Huygens. Oevres completes de Christiaan Huygens publiccs par la Societe Hollandaise des Sciences. 22 vols (The Hague I8K8-I950).vol. 9. p. 267.

- death in 1736. Ont of these wa* the basis for the frsl. inaccurate, edition the I vo Letters of Sir Isaac Newton Io Mr. Le CIcre(London 1754).Sec: Le Clcrc to Locke,11 April 1691, in: M. Grazia and M.Smu (cds), Episiohrio. Part 2 < Florence 1991), PP.50-52.
- 4«. Cf. E. Jorink. "Homble and blaxphemou. : l^aac la Peyrdre, haac Vo%*ius and the emergence of radical biblical criticism in the Dutch Republic, tn: J. van der Meer and beingpromoted to full professor in I712.'s Gravesande was also appointed professor in philosophy in 1734.
- X7. WJ.'s Grave Miitde. De niathescos in omnibus scientiis praecipue in physic is usu (Leiden 1717), p. 14.
- 88. lb idem.p. 16.
- X9. 's Grave«amic, Phy^iccs (1719-1721). vol. I.Pracfatid. sig *3. See also the Dutch translation by J. Engclinan, Wiskundige ^rondbcginsclen der natuurkund« [.] otic integling fol de neuioniaanM: wysbegeerte (1743>.Voorrede: 'AI wie de schrefte [.G. G. de naiuurkunde (-] vergekken Ixeft. zal naulyks in twvyfel kunen trackin Gr met dien naam worden geheel verschillende wetenschappen bedodel, terwyl ze alien (G. geven devvaare oirzaak der naiuurlyke ver\chyn*elen te davouden On kugetmat). de R. van Raak, De snecuwiheologie van Jan Engel (p. ad. 1846) poging to ver neutoniiuinse wijsbegeerte, (ieschiedenis van de uijsbegeerte th Nederland 7 (1996). Pr-99-116.
- 90. P. <lc Clcrcq, Al lhe sign of the oriental lamp: the Musschenbrock workshop in Leiden. 1660-1750 (Rollcrdain 1997). PP. 73-102.
- 91. G. V.Sutton. Science lor a police society: gender, culture and the demvnilralion of rnli^htcnmcnl (Bouldei 1995). PP. 213-232.
- 92. R. E. Schofield. The Hnlighienment of Jowrph I'riolley: a siudy in hi life and work from 173J to 1773 (University Park, PA 1997), P. 24.
- 93. A bibliogritphy can be found in: De Paler. Wcl/ijn. uysbejsecrltf en wetenschap (note 85). p. I52.Two translations were made by fonner students of's Gravexinde: a French translation by Elie de Joncourt. prolesM*T in Boidc-duc. was issued in 1743-1 ?46 and a Dutch translation by Jan Engelnian.a physician and leader of the Haarlem Natuur*en Sterrenkundig Collegic. was published in 1743. Work on (he Dutch edition stalled, however, and Ihe^econd volume was never published, probably due to a disappomting tiimover. This is perhaps» an indication of a lack of interest in the malhe- matical approach of Newtomanism among most Dutch

- IlJ.Zuidcrxaafl.^llet Natuurbccld van Joh;mncs de Mey (1617-1678), hooglcrsuar flow fie aan de lllustcrc School tc Middclburg*. Archief Meikxlelingen van het Koninklijk Zeews cnotx>chap der Wetenschappen <200". Pp. I -4; Van der Wall,*Newionumism and religion in lhe Netherlands* (note 42K Jonnk. Reading tte Book of Nature (note 5).
- 96. J. Ray, De werelt van haar begin lol haar cinde. ofiiry natuurkundige godge icerde redenengen (Rollerdam 1696>.
- 97. Jacques Lufneu had finished his study at Leiden University in I7IK and Ahraham van Loon in 1720.
- 9H. Cf. Baillon.'Early cighlcenth-century Newtonianism' (note 65>. Pp. 533-54K. 9^. Cf. G. Ronmi.Locke et *on iraducleur fran^ais Pierre Coste, avec Suit lettres inedite» de Costs a Lotzke., Revue de lillerature comparde 33 (1959>. PP.161-179; G.AJ. Rogers. S.Hutton and . Schuumian.'Pierre Cwsle. John Lncke. and lhe Third Earl of Shaftesbury'. in:S.Hution and P. Schuurman <cds). Studies on Locke: sources, coniemporanes. and legacy. International Archives of the Hisioiy of Idea&; Archives Intentalionales d'Ilistoire des Ideas (1959). Dordrecht 2008X
- IOO.S.Schafler.'Glas>> works: Newton's prism and the uses of experiment', ini D.Gooding. Trevor J. Pinch and S. Schaller (cds. T. le uses of experiment tudges in to natural lienees (Cambridge 19K9). p.96.
- 101. 'The printing date is marked at the end of volume 2. Dcbaguhcn»' assislarKC is credited in lhe author's preface. CfL Newton. Trail* d'optique les reflexion», refractions, inflexions, et les coulcura. de la lumere (... JJtnMluit de l'anglois par M. Costc «ur la M^onde ediliun. uugnenlev par l'au-«eur «Am» Urdum: Pierre Humbert 1720).
- 102. GOMC. 'Pretace du traduclcuf in: Newton. Tniitc d'oplique (note lol kxxii-xm.
- 103. Baill<>n.*Larly cightccnlh'ccnfuiy Newtonian ism' (note 65).
- 104. A nice exumple is the Mennonite David van Mollem. who used physical principles in his silk iactory. A family* portrait of Van Mollem is adorned with scientific instnimenU,
 - S. Mandelbrote <eds). Nature aftd Scripture in the Abrahtnic religiory:: up to 17<>o (Leiden 2009>. PP. 429-450; Jurink and Van Micrt. Isaac Vossius (note 31).
- 49. Vermij. Amsterdain mathematical amateurs' (n(>te 29), pp. 196-199.
- 50. Bibliotheque universelie 8 (I6XK). On the authorship of lhe review sec:James L. Axtell. Locke's review of tlu: Pnncipia, Notes and records of the Royal Society of London 20:1 (1965).PP. 152-161. On Locke's impact on continental Kuropc. sce:J. Israel. Enlighlenmiml

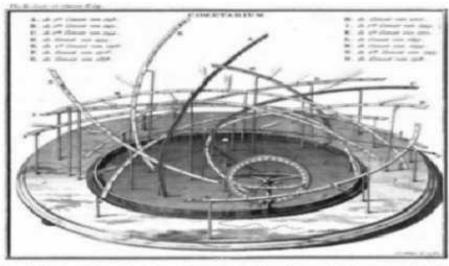


Fig. 8: Nicolass Struyck's three-dimensional 'Cornetarium', designed and built in 1745 to check Newton's gravitational theory on cornets, (Course Struyck,

Dutch translation uf Newt-on's adaptation of Bernhard Vurenius' Geogruphiu generalb. 1 ***

Struyck was not the only Dutchman fascinated by cornels. In lhe years leading up to the expected return of llalLey*s Comet, which, when it came, was seen by contemporaries as a trumph for Newton's gravitational theory, several Dutch enthusiasts particulated in the search for astronomical discoveries. The surveyor Dirk Ktink in the living in Haarlem anti la<cr in 'The Hague, was not only a very successful at fortunated obs^rrfer (he independently observed at least fi Acen ceMnets, five of which a the livil recorded obs rver), bu« was SIIMI a skilled mathematicium. In 1785 had a search tada at the livil recorded obs rver), bu« was SIIMI a skilled mathematicium. In 1785 had a search tada at the livil recorded obs rver). This initiative was the first of its kind in liurope. However, soon uAcrward>, ihis was irnitated in several other countnc3>.2

Intrigued by the same event, and on «he basis of Newlon's gravitational theory, the wine merchant Jan Schim from Maa^luis tried lu calculute the possible perturbations on the comet's orbit caused by the larger planets, concluding that the comet*» orbit could be changed considerably. 23

1 he Ilulch univerMlies

Meanwhile, in the Dutch Republic 'Newtonianism' had become a synonym for 'experimental philosophy. Iliis meant that other accents could be incorporated. As De Paler has noted. Petrus van Musschen^ brock (1692-1761). who graduated from Leiden in 1715.

Amsterdam and Groningen, did *o too. They all iden tilled Newtomunism* w itli experimental ptɪyNicü, cmpınciüm and even naturul hi'itoryJ The scientific enterprise ax >ucli also bccumc an instruincul of natural theology.